DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 364 320 PS 021 774

AUTHOR Cosden, Merith; And Others
TITLE The Relationship of Gender, Ethnicity, and Home Language to Age of School Entry, Kindergarten Retention and Social Promotion.
PUB DATE Apr 93
NOTE 24p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Atlanta, GA, April 12-16, 1993).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Academic Failure; Age Grade Placement; English (Second Language); *Grade Repetition; *Kindergarten; Kindergarten Children; Minority Groups; Preschool Children; *Preschool Education; Primary Education; *School Entrance Age; *School Readiness; Sex Differences; *Student Characteristics
IDENTIFIERS California (South); *Latinos

ABSTRACT

Over the past 10 years, kindergarten classes have escalated their academic demands in order to prepare children to begin first grade. In tandem with curricular changes, many parents have elected to "hold out" their children from first grade for an additional year, and increasingly, schools are using kindergarten retention in response to early school failure. A study assessed the impact of student characteristics on holding out and retention or promotion practices. Data on all 1,089 kindergarten students in one South Central California school district were analyzed, including student age, gender, ethnicity, home language, age of entry, and decisions regarding grade retention, promotion, and advancement. Approximately 68% of the students were Latino, and 32% Anglo. Study findings included the following results: (1) on average, boys started school at 67.5 months and girls at 66.7 months; (2) neither ethnicity nor home language influenced age of school entry; (3) over 10% of the children had been held out of school an extra year by their parents, 4.2% had been previously retained, 5% were recommended for retention the following year, and 19.9% were advanced to first grade with concerns about their promotion; (4) children in the youngest part of their cohort were more likely than older children to be held out, retained, or recommended for retention; and (5) English-speaking Latino students were more likely to be recommended for retention than Spanish-speaking Latinos, although the reasons for this particular pattern were unclear. (Contains 28 references.) (AC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

ED 364 320

The Relationship of Gender, Ethnicity, and Home Language to Age of School Entry, Kindergarten Retention and Social Promotion

Merith Cosden, Jules Zimmer & Maria Gutierrez
University of California, Santa Barbara

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Merith Cosden
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

PS 021774

Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Atlanta, Georgia, April, 1993

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Relationship of Gender, Ethnicity, and Home Language to Age of School Entry, Kindergarten Retention and Social Promotion

There are growing concerns about the number of children from ethnic minority groups who are at risk for school failure (Barona & Garcia, 1990). It is generally acknowledged that these school problems have an early genesis. Nevertheless, there has been little systematic study of the impact of early schooling experiences on the academic success of minority students. This study focusses on recent changes in kindergarten practices and the impact of these changes on minority students.

Changes in kindergarten practices

A basic change in kindergarten programs over the past ten years has been the 'escalation' of their academic demands (Educational Research Service, 1986; Ellwein, Walsh, Eads & Miller, 1991; Freeman & Hatch, 1989; Shepard & Smith, 1988). At one time kindergarten was viewed as an opportunity for children to socialize; currently, kindergartens are charged with preparing students with the preacademic skills needed to begin first grade. Several factors have influenced this policy change. Although kindergarten remains non-mandatory in most states, utilization of kindergarten programs is high, thus enabling schools to use kindergarten to prepare students for the upper grades (Smith & Shepard, 1988). The escalation of the kindergarten curriculum is also associated with the public desire for increased school accountability, particularly regarding promotion decisions. That is, schools are being asked to demonstrate that students who are promoted have the skills necessary to succeed at

their next grade level (Shepard & Smith, 1989). Many educators believe that the downward extension of this accountability has been both an escalation of the kindergarten curriculum and an increase in the use of kindergarten and first grade screening procedures. These procedures are designed to exclude children who are not yet 'ready' for school, thereby increasing the likelihood that students will be more 'ready' when they reach the upper grades (Carstens, 1985; Ellwein, et al., 1991; Schultz, 1989).

In tandem with these curricular changes, many parents have elected to keep children who would be among the youngest in their cohort out of school an additional year to better prepare them to succeed in kindergarten. While the intent of these 'holding out' practices is to allow children to become more prepared for school, data suggest that this outcome has not been realized (Mergendoller, Bellisimo & Horan, 1990; Shepard & Smith, 1988) with any age advantage typically disappearing by the end of second or third grade (e.g. Dietz & Wilson, 1985). Instead, this process has resulted in an increase in the age and skill levels of children within kindergarten programs (Shepard & Smith, 1988) This has created significant problems for teachers with regard to instructional management; this has also resulted in experiences of failure for the students who are not ready for these higher academic demands.

There is evidence that growing numbers of students are experiencing early failure within the school system. This failure is most clearly seen in the increased use of kindergarten retention (Shepard, 1989). While retention is typically viewed as a method for facilitating academic growth in children, there is little empirical

support for its effectiveness (see Carstens, 1985; Doyle, 1989; Holmes, 1989; Holmes & Matthews, 1984 for reviews). Not only don't students catch up academically, but for many students the act of retention is perceived as a personal failure (Godfrey, 1972; Holmes & Matthews, 1984; Niklason, 1987; Smith & Shepard, 1988). The long term effects of retention are also a concern. Grissom and Shepard (1989), in a review of empirical studies, found a greater risk for dropping out even when prior achievement was controlled. In-grade retention, whether during early grades or later in a child's schooling, appears to have a significant, negative impact on the likelihood of a child finishing school.

Social promotion, the act of promoting students with their same age peers regardless of their achievement, has also been seriously questioned, however (see Shepard & Smith, 1989, for a review). The negative impact of social promotion has been felt by employers, educators, parents and the children themselves, who are inadequatly prepared for their future educational and vocational placements. Thus, identification of academic needs, and addressing these needs through means other than in-grade retention, is important for children's academic success.

Impact of kindergarten policies on Latino children

It is our hypothesis that the escalation of kindergarten curriculum and concommitant holding out and retention patterns will differentially effect minority families in two ways. First, many Latino families have low incomes which prohibit them from holding their child out of school until they are more academically 'ready.' Subsidized preschool and daycare programs, including

Headstart, require that children leave preschool and enter kindergarten when they are first legally able to do so. These rules are largely driven by economic necessity, as limited funds are available and many children go unserved. Thus for many minority families who are in lower economic brackets providing a child with an additional year of preschool is unfeasible. While we are not advocating 'holding out' as a sound educational practice, the fact that some families cannot do this while others can puts those with fewer resources at risk; their children are likely to be younger and less prepared for school than those who have had an additional year to attend preschool.

Second, many minority families, particularly those from lower socioeconomic groups, may be affected by limited access to information about the school system. Sue & Padilla (1986) hypothesize that minority parents often do not have enough information about the school culture to make decisions that will help their children achieve success. Lynch and Stein (1987) found that, despite interest and concern, Hispanic parents often are less knowledgeable and less involved in the schools than are parents from other ethnic groups. Garcia and Duran (in press) apply Bourdieu's (1991) conceptualization of literacy as cultural capital to explain the problems that Spanish speaking immigrants have in addressing their needs with community agencies. That is, limited English speaking and reading skills prevent these families from accessing the cultural knowledge needed to successfully use community resources. Similarly, if parents lack access to information about the school culture, they can not anticipate school readiness

issues in the same way as would families with greater access to knowledge about the school system.

Factors that effect school entry and retention

Several studies have found differences in holding out and retention patterns as a function of gender and age. These studies tend to show that younger boys are being held out of kindergarten an extra year by their parents (Mergandollar et al., 1990). Walsh, Ellwein, Eads and Miller (1991) looked at SES as well as sex and age and found that all were significant predictors of whether students would be asked to wait an additional year before entering kindergarten. Young, male students in the free lunch program were the most likely to be excluded from kindergarten and asked to wait an additional year, while older, female students who did not participate in the free lunch program were the least likely to be excluded from kindergarten and asked to wait.

Finally, several studies found that younger boys were also more likely to be retained sometime during their schooling (Fowler & Cross, 1986; Langer, Kalk & Searls, 1984). While some suggest that younger students have the greatest need for in-grade retention, there are indications that this practice is more a function of parent and teacher perceptions that it is acceptable to retain younger students, particularly younger boys than it is due to actual behavioral or academic problems (Shepard & Smith, 1986).

Less is known about the relationship of ethnicity and school entry and retention decisions. A few studies (Cosden, Zimmer & Tuss, in press; Langer et al., 1984) have found that minority students are more likely than other students to be retained. Ellwein et al. (1991)

studied the impact of screening tests on this overrepresentation. He found that screening tests not only have poor predictive validity, but also over-identify children from ethnic minority and lower socioeconomic groups. In Cosden et al. (In press) differences in the identification of Latino students with special needs were found across districts; in one school district Latino students were more likely to be retained than other students, while in another school district Latino students were more likely to be socially advanced to first grade. Age of school entry was one factor, as these children tended to be younger than the others in their cohort. Further, in a national study of over 100 schools in 830 school districts, Love & Logue (1992) found that schools with low-income families, many of whom are ethnic minorities, tend to have a greater academic focus in kindergarten. Schools with lower income families were also found to engage in higher levels of retention.

Ethnicity is a broad variable, and the data presented thusfar have certain limitations. For example, the data are often confounded by the effects of ethnicity and SES. That is, many, but not all, minority students are also low income. Schneider and Baker (1992), for example, in a study of over 6000 students found that a larger proportion of Black than White students were living in poverty. While poverty, not ethnicity, was a significant predictor of dropping out of school, a greater proportion of Black than White students were poor. Thus, while researchers are able to describe educational patterns for Latino children, the extent to which these patterns are a function of poverty or other cultural boundaries remains unclear. Further, there are many factors that effect the experiences of

individuals within as well as between cultural groups. Home language, for example, is a marker variable that reflects time in this country and acculturation. Being proficient in English may affect a family's ability to effectively deal with many public agencies (Garcia & Duran, in press). Thus, whether or not one's home language is Spanish may affect one's relationship with the school system more than ethnicity.

Purpose

In this study we assessed the impact of age, gender, ethnicity and home language (Anglo, Latino/English speaking, Latino/Spanish speaking) on holding out and retention or promotion practices.

The following hypotheses were tested: 1) As a group, Latino students would enter kindergarten younger than Anglo students, i.e., more Anglo students would be held out of school an extra year by their parents; 2) Age would have a significant impact on holding out, retention and advancement patterns. Younger children would be held out, retained, and advanced more than older children; 3) As a group, boys would be held out, retained, and advanced more than girls; and 4) Ethnicity/home language would have a significant impact on holding out, retention, and advancement. Latino/Spanish speaking students would be more likely to enter kindergarten younger, to be retained, and to be advanced than Latino/English speaking or Anglo students.

Method

Subjects

Data were available on all 1089 kindergarten students in one school district in Southern Central California. Approximately 68% of

students were Latino, and 32% Anglo. Approximately 22% of the students in the sample were Latino children who spoke English as their primary home language, while 46% of the total sample spoke Spanish at home. For analysis, children were divided into three groups: Anglo (N=267), Latino/English speaking (N=239), and Latino/Spanish speaking (N=497).

Data Source

All data were obtained from computer records at the school district. The district maintains student records at each school site; these records are networked through a common database at the school district office. Data on student age, gender, ethnicity, and home language are obtained by school personnel when the child enters school and are based primarily on parent reports. Regarding ethnicity and home language, students were classified for this study as Anglo, Latino/Spanish speaking and Latino/English speaking.

Age of entry was also used to determine whether students had entered school on schedule or were held out an extra year by their parents. California has a December 1 deadline for entry into kindergarten. Children whose birthdates fell outside the dates normally expected for that kindergarten cohort, and who had not been retained, were labeled held out. We did not explore in this study why these children were held out of school; prior research suggests that parents hold children out when they are younger because they want them to be more successful in kindergarten (Mergendoller, Bellisimo, Horan, 1990), but other reasons are plausible particularly for minority students with high levels of mobility.

Data were collected at the end of the kindergarten year. School records indicated that the student had been promoted into first grade, recommended for retention, already retained (i.e., they had just completed their second year in kindergarten) or were being 'advanced' to first grade with concerns from the teacher.

Decisions regarding retention, promotion and advancement are based on formal written policies within the district. Teachers had primary responsibility for implementing these policies. According to these policies, students were promoted if they were working at the fourth stanine or higher in the areas of reading, language, and math as measured by district administered standardized tests. Students could be 'advanced' to the next grade even if they failed to perform at the fourth stanine, if they appeared to be working at capacity and making reasonable progress. Retention was considered for students who did not meet the criteria for either promotion or advancement. If students attended school less than a specified number of days in the academic year, they also could be retained. A Pupil Placement Committee, composed of the teacher, principal, parent and other requested personnel, could be convened to decide unclear retention cases. Teachers were required to develop a contract with parents that outlined school, student and parental responsibilities for students who had been retained.

Although these policies were designed for all grade levels, they were not as easily applied to kindergarten students, as achievement tests were not administered until the end of first grade. Thus, more latitude was left to teachers, or the Pupil Placement Committee, in making kindergarten retention and advancement decisions.

Results

The first ANOVA looked at the relationship of gender and ethnicity to age of school entry. There was a significant effect of gender on age of school entry, $F(1, 999) = 8.87$, $p < .05$. Boys on the whole were older when they started school ($M = 67.5$ months) than were the girls ($M = 66.70$ months). Neither ethnicity nor home language had a significant impact on age of school entry.

As indicated in Table 1, over 10% of the children in the sample had been held out of school an extra year by their parents, 4.2% had previously been retained, 5% were recommended for retention the following year, and 19.9% were 'advanced' to first grade with concerns about their promotion. Thus, approximately 40% of the students in the sample were 'off track' in terms of the normal expectations for children entering kindergarten by the end of the kindergarten year. These children were a year older than anticipated, either as a function of having been held out or retained, or were experiencing problems which suggested that they would not have a normal promotion to first grade.

Insert Table 1 about here

A series of chi-squares analyses was used to assess differences in holding out, retention and advancement patterns as a function of age, gender, and ethnicity/home language. The impact of age is depicted in Table 1. Children with birthmonths that would have placed them in the youngest part of their cohort were more likely to be held out, $x^2(3, N=975) = 46.76$, $p < .001$, retained, $x^2(3, N=897) = 11.34$, $p < .05$, or

recommended for retention, x^2 (3, N=812)=18.60, p< .001. As indicated in Table 2, most children who were either held out or retained had birthmonths that placed them in the younger half of their original school cohort. Age was not associated with labelling students as 'advanced.'

Differences in the gender of children held out, retained, recommended for retention or advanced is indicated in Table 2 Gender differences were obtained for holding out, x^2(1, N=975)= 8.97, p<.05, but not for the other variables.

Insert Table 2 about here

The impact of ethnicity/home language is depicted in Table 3. Ethnicity/home language was related to recommendations for retention, x^2 (2, N=688) = 6.82, p<.05. More English speaking Latino students were recommended for retention than were other students. Ethnicity/home language was also related to advancement , x^2 (2, N=962) = 30.23, p<.001. Overall, 25% of Latino/Spanish speaking students, 20% of Latino/English speaking students, and only 8.7% of Anglo students had been socially advanced. This suggests that by the end of first grade, a larger proportion of Latino students were not perceived as ready for their formal school work in first grade.

Insert Table 3 about here

Discussion

This study found that 40% of the students in a kindergarten cohort of one school district were 'off track' by the end of kindergarten; that is, they had either been held out of school an extra year by their parents, retained, recommended for retention, or 'advanced' to first grade despite concerns about their skills. This is commensurate of other studies showing recent changes in kindergarten programs resulting in high levels of student failure (Shepard & Smith, 1988).

To a varying extent age, gender, ethnicity and home language influenced these practices. Age affected parental decisions to hold out as well as on teacher decisions to retain a child. This is congruent with the findings of other studies (e.g., Mergandollar et al., 1990; Shepard & Smith, 1986). It appears that both teachers and parents view age as a significant dimension on which to base school readiness decisions (Smith, 1989).

This perception may not be justified, however. Shepard & Smith (1986) report that teachers are more likely to retain a child that was younger than one who was older although the two students engaged in similar classroom behaviors. Other studies have shown that the older child in the class does not maintain an academic advantage over time (Dietz & Wilson, 1985) while children who have been retained may continue to have academic problems (Carstons, 1985; Cosden, Zimm & Reyes, in preparation; Shepard & Smith, 1989). While many believe that an additional year provides social benefit to the student, the social impact of retention often appears to be negative (Byrnes, 1899; Shepard & Smith, 1989). Despite parents

good intentions, we have little knowledge about the social impact of holding out practices. There are many questions about how students interpret being the oldest in their class that remain to be explored.

Gender had its primary impact on parent holding out patterns. Again, this is congruent with other studies (e.g., Mergandollar, 1990) which indicate that parents perceive that younger boys will benefit the most from an extra year before starting school. It must be noted that this study did not explore reasons for parents holding out practices. In some instances, particularly with the lower income Latino students, holding a child out of school may be more a function of family mobility. These are issues that need to be further explored.

Ethnicity and home language were related to retention and social advancement. Latino children overall were more likely to be retained and advanced than Anglo students; a greater proportion of English speaking Latino students were recommended for retention, and a larger number of Spanish speaking students were advanced. The reasons for these particular administrative arrangements were unclear. Many of the Spanish speaking students were served in classes reserved for monolingual Spanish speaking students; thus, it is possible that a teacher could feel that a large portion of the class was unready for first grade but that retention would unduly burden the system. The influence of school and teacher as factors in retention and advancement decisions will be explored in future analyses. The general difficulties experienced by these students is seen, at least in part, as a function of parental and child problems in successfully understanding the needs of the school system. Differences in SES across schools, and the impact of school SES on

retention and promotion decisions, will also be assessed in future analyses.

This study suggests that there is a large portion of the school system whose needs are being poorly met at the beginning of their schooling. Age, ethnicity and home language may all play a role in whether a child has a successful entry to school. Parents tend to hold younger boys out of school so that they can be the oldest rather than the youngest in their cohort. While well intended, the impact of this intervention, both academically and socially, is not clear. Further, Latino children appear at greater risk at the end of kindergarten for either being retained or advanced. English speaking Latino children in this district were more likely to be retained, while Spanish speaking Latino children were more likely to be advanced. Neither intervention, however, is known for having positive outcomes. While early identification of students' needs is important, the schools also need to consider alternative interventions for these children to build their likelihood for success in the school system.

References

Barona, A. & Garcia, E. (Eds.) (1990). Children at Risk. National Association of School Psychologists: Washington, DC

Bourdieu, P. (1991). Language and Symbolic Power. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Byrnes, D. (1989). Attitudes of students, parents and educators toward repeating a grade. In L. Shepard & M. Smith (Eds.) Flunking Grades: Research and Policies on Retention. Falmer Press: Bristol, PA.

Carstens, A. (1985). Retention and social promotion for the exceptional child. School Psychology Review, 14, 48-63.

Cosden, M., Zimmer, J. & Tuss, P. (In press). Differences in Children's kindergarten experiences as a function of age, gender and ethnicity. Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis.

Doyle, R. (1989). The resistance of conventional wisdom to research evidence: The case of retention in grade. Phi Delta Kappan, 215-220.

Educational Research Service (1986, May). A kindergarten survey. Principal, 22-23.

Ellwein, M., Walsh, D., Eads, G. & Miller, A. (1991). Using readiness tests to route kindergarten students: The snarled intersection of psychometrics, policy and practice. ucational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 13, 159-175.

Freeman, E. & Hatch, J. (1989). What schools expect young children to know and do: an analysis of kindergarten report cards. The Elementary School Journal, 89, 595-605.

Garcia, R. & Duran, R. (In press). Latino immigrant life and literacy needs in a cultural and social context. In J. Tinajero & A. Flor-Ada (Eds). Literacy and Biliteracy for Spanish Speaking Students. New York: MacMillan.

Grissom, J. & Shepard, L. (1989). Repeating and dropping out of school. In L. Shepard & M. Smith (Eds.) Flunking Grades: Research and Policies on Retention. Falmer Press: Bristol, PA.

Holmes, C. T. (1989). Grade level retention effects: A meta-analysis of research studies. In L. Shepard & M. Smith (Eds.) Flunking Grades: Research and Policies on Retention. Falmer Press: Bristol, PA.

Holmes, C. T. & Matthews, K. M. (1984). The effects of nonpromotion on elementary and junior high school pupils: A meta-analysis. Review of Educational Research, 54 (2), 225-236.

Love, J. & Logue, M. (1992). Transitions to kindergarten in American schools: Executive summary of the National Transition Study. Final report to the Office of Policy & Planning, US Department of Education. RMC Research Corp: Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

Lynch, E. & Stein, R. (1987). Parent participation by ethnicity: A comparison of Hispanic, Black, and Anglo families. Exceptional Children, 53, 105-111.

Mergendoller, J., Bellisimo, Y. & Horan, C. (1990). Kindergarten holding out: the role of school characteristics, family background, and parental perceptions. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston, MA.

Niklason, L. B. (1987). Do certain groups of children profit from a grade retention? Psychology in the Schools, 24, 339-345.

Schneider, S. & Baker, A. (1992). Using non-school indicators to amplify our understanding of students who are at risk of school failure. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Sant Fransisco, CA.

Schultz, T. (1989). Testing and retention of young children: Moving from controversy to reform. Phi Delta Kappan, 125-129.

Shepard, L. (1989). A review of research on kindergarten retention. In L. Shepard & M. Smith (Eds.) Flunking Grades: Research and Policies on Retention. Falmer Press: Bristol, PA.

Shepard, L. & Smith, M. (1986). Synthesis of research on school readiness and kindergarten retention. Educational Leadership, 44, 78-86.

Shepard, L. & Smith, M. (1987). Effects of kindergarten retention at the end of first grade. Psychology in the Schools, 24, 346-357.

Shepard, L. & Smith, M. (1988). Escalating academic demand in kindergarten: counterproductive policies. The Elementary School Journal, 89, 135-145.

Shepard, L. & Smith, M. (1989). Introduction and overview. In L. Shepard & M. Smith (Eds.) Flunking Grades: Research and Policies on Retention. Falmer Press: Bristol, PA.

Smith, M. (1989). Teachers' beliefs about retention. In L. Shepard & M. Smith (Eds.) Flunking Grades: Research and Policies on Retention. Falmer Press: Bristol, PA.

Smith, M. & Shepard, L. (1988). Kindergarten readiness and retention: a qualitative study of teachers' beliefs and practices. American Educational Research Journal, 25, 307-333

Sue, S. & Padilla, A. (1986). Ethnic minority issues in the United States: challenges for the educational system. In Beyond Language: Social and Cultural Factors in Schooling Language Minority Children. Bilingual Education Office, California State Department of Education: Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center, California State University, Los Angeles.

Walsh, D., Ellwein, M. Eads, G & Miller, A. (1991). Knocking on kindergarten's door: Who gets in? Who's kept out? Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 6, 89-100.

Table 1

Birthmonths for children held out, retained, recommended for retention or socially advanced relative to children who were on schedule

	Sept.-Nov.		June-Aug		March-May		Feb-Dec		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	χ^2
Held Out	59	20.85	29	10.90	10	4.65	9	4.26	46.76**
Retained	13	5.48	7	2.87	9	4.21	0	0	11.34*
Rec. for Retention	20	8.77	16	6.96	4	2.22	1	.01	18.60**
Social Advance	68	25.64	43	16.73	44	20.00	37	17.62	6.18
Total Off Track	160	60.75	97	37.46	67	31.08	47	21.89	

* $p<.05$

** $P<.001$

Table 2

Gender effects on school based decisions during kindergarten

	Boys		Girls		
	N	%	N	%	χ^2
Held Out (Entered School Late)	71	7.24	36	12.8	8.97*
Retained	19	4.11	10	2.30	2.36
Rec. for Retention	22	5.06	19	5.05	.01
Advanced	97	18.98	95	21.02	.62
Total "Off track"	209	35.39	160	41.17	

* $p < .05$

Table 3

Ethnicity/home language effects on kindergarten entry and promotion decisions

	Latino/Spanish Home Language		Latino/English Home Language		Anglo		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	χ^2
Held Out (Entered School Late)	36	7.24	25	10.46	46	9.64	3.10
Retained	20	4.02	2	.01	7	2.62	5.93
Rec. for Retention	20	4.02	15	6.28	4	1.50	6.82*
Advanced	122	24.55	47	19.66	23	8.61	30.23**
Total Off track	198	39.83	89	36.42	80	21.47	

* $p < .05$

** $p < .001$